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**Pennsylvania Survey of Black Women Voters**

For In Our Own Voice: National Black Women's Reproductive Justice Agenda

18 minute questionnaire

Fielded May 6 through May 28, 2022

N = 549 Black women registered voters

Margin of sampling error: + 5.5 percentage points

**Introduction**

This is a survey among Black women voters across the country, including in Pennsylvania. The purpose is to understand our community's views, experiences, and what we want for the country. The survey is funded by a non-profit organization working to help Black communities. Your input is valuable to us. Thank you for taking this survey.

1. Are you registered to vote at your current address, or not?

Yes 100

No TERMINATE 0

I’m not sure TERMINATE 0

1. In November, there will be elections for US Congress, state, and local offices. Most people don't vote in midterm elections like these. How likely are you to vote in the November midterm elections this fall?

Almost certain to vote 62

Probably vote 13

Chances are 50-50 16

Not likely to vote 2

Will not vote 6

I’m not sure 2

DK / REF 0

1. SPLIT A: For you personally, how important is voting in the 2022 midterm elections? 1 TO 7 SCALE (*N = 270)*

1 - Not at all important 4

2 2

3 4

4 19

5 7

6 7

7 - Extremely Important 57

DK / REF 0

1. Would you say things in your state are:

Going in the right direction 53

Off on the wrong track 47

DK / REF 1

1. Thinking about the upcoming elections for the US House of Representatives this November… if the elections were held today, would you vote for ROTATE the Democratic Party’s candidate or the Republican Party’s candidate?

The Democratic Party’s candidate 75

The Republican Party’s candidate 7

Other 4

No opinion 10

Would not vote 4

DK / REF 0

**Voting priorities**

1. This fall there will be elections for US Congress, state, and local offices. How important is each of these issues to you personally when thinking about getting out to vote? RANDOMIZE

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Extrmly imp. | Very imp. | Smwt imp. | Not too imp. | Not at all imp. | DK / REF |
| 1. Economic issues like jobs and equal pay | 63 | 27 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 1. COVID-19 | 55 | 24 | 13 | 6 | 2 | 0 |
| 1. Racism / racial justice | 77 | 16 | 6 | 0 | 1 | 0 |
| 1. Health care | 67 | 24 | 8 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 1. Abortion rights | 56 | 21 | 13 | 4 | 6 | 0 |
| 1. Childcare | 43 | 31 | 18 | 5 | 3 | 0 |
| 1. Education | 64 | 26 | 8 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 1. Climate / environment | 40 | 32 | 19 | 5 | 4 | 0 |
| 1. Voting rights | 67 | 18 | 10 | 3 | 2 | 0 |
| 1. LGBTQ+ rights | 29 | 22 | 28 | 13 | 9 | 0 |
| 1. Human rights | 70 | 21 | 7 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 1. Crime | 71 | 21 | 7 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 1. Taxes | 49 | 32 | 13 | 4 | 3 | 0 |
| 1. Immigration | 30 | 28 | 31 | 9 | 3 | 0 |
| 1. Criminal justice reform | 54 | 27 | 16 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| 1. Housing | 58 | 27 | 12 | 3 | 0 | 0 |
| 1. Police violence | 62 | 28 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| 1. Transportation | 33 | 33 | 25 | 6 | 2 | 0 |
| 1. Foreign affairs | 28 | 33 | 28 | 7 | 4 | 0 |

1. Choose the top 5 issues that matter most to you when voting in elections?

SHOW ALL ITEMS RATED AS EXTREMELY OR VERY IMPORTANT - IN SAME ORDER.

Racism / racial justice 67

Health care 44

Crime 37

Police violence 31

Human rights 30

Abortion rights 29

Economic issues like jobs and equal pay 29

Education 27

Voting rights 26

Housing 26

COVID-19 23

Criminal justice reform 19

Taxes 17

Climate / environment 14

Childcare 13

LGBTQ+ rights 8

Foreign affairs 5

Immigration 4

Transportation 4

Here are positions some candidates will take in the November elections. How important would each of these issues be to you personally when thinking about getting out to vote? RANDOMIZE

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Extr. imp. | Very imp. | Smwt  imp. | Not too | Not at all | DK / REF |
| 1. Getting rid of recent bans on abortion | 48 | 24 | 18 | 2 | 6 | 0 |
| 1. Getting rid of recent bans and restrictions on transgender people | 27 | 23 | 28 | 11 | 10 | 1 |
| 1. Getting rid of recent restrictions that make it harder for people to vote | 58 | 22 | 13 | 3 | 4 | 0 |
| 1. Making sure schools teach children about American history, including the impact of slavery and racism | 61 | 24 | 10 | 3 | 2 | 0 |
| 1. Increasing access to affordable birth control | 43 | 33 | 17 | 5 | 3 | 0 |
| 1. Lowering the cost of living and inflation | 65 | 25 | 9 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 1. Raising the minimum wage to $15 | 57 | 24 | 15 | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| 1. Supporting COVID-19 vaccinations | 39 | 27 | 19 | 9 | 6 | 0 |
| 1. Expanding Medicaid coverage to more people | 47 | 34 | 14 | 3 | 2 | 0 |
| 1. Working to end Black maternal mortality | 59 | 21 | 14 | 2 | 2 | 1 |
| 1. Ensuring equal pay for equal work | 60 | 26 | 10 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| 1. Supporting paid family leave | 41 | 34 | 17 | 4 | 4 | 0 |
| 1. Increasing access to affordable childcare | 44 | 31 | 18 | 4 | 2 | 0 |
| 1. Increasing funding for local public schools | 50 | 32 | 14 | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| 1. Increasing access to mental health care | 55 | 31 | 12 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 1. Canceling student debt | 46 | 23 | 21 | 6 | 4 | 0 |
| 1. Canceling medical debt | 43 | 30 | 21 | 4 | 2 | 0 |
| 1. Lowering taxes for the middle and lower class | 56 | 25 | 15 | 3 | 2 | 0 |
| 1. Increasing government assistance programs | 41 | 28 | 25 | 4 | 1 | 0 |
| 1. Improving neighborhood services, like trash, street cleaning, and parks | 41 | 32 | 23 | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| 1. Making sure our elections are free from political interference and manipulation | 62 | 24 | 10 | 2 | 2 | 0 |
| 1. Creating equal access to resources and opportunities | 50 | 32 | 14 | 2 | 2 | 0 |

1. Choose the top 5 issues that matter most to you when voting in elections?

SHOW ALL ITEMS RESPONDED RATED ABOVE AS EXTREMELY OR VERY IMP - IN SAME ORDER

Lowering the cost of living and inflation 41

Raising the minimum wage to $15 37

Making sure schools teach children about American history, including the impact of slavery and racism 30

Lowering taxes for the middle and lower class 29

Ensuring equal pay for equal work 28

Canceling student debt 27

Getting rid of recent restrictions that make it harder for people to vote 24

Getting rid of recent bans on abortion 24

Increasing access to mental health care 24

Working to end Black maternal mortality 22

Making sure our elections are free from political interference and manipulation 19

Supporting COVID-19 vaccinations 18

Increasing funding for local public schools 17

Increasing government assistance programs 17

Expanding Medicaid coverage to more people 17

Creating equal access to resources and opportunities 16

Canceling medical debt 12

Increasing access to affordable childcare 12

Improving neighborhood services, like trash, street cleaning, and parks 10

Supporting paid family leave 9

Increasing access to affordable birth control 7

Getting rid of recent bans and restrictions on transgender people 7

1. Let's say you're deciding who to vote for in an election. Which of these would be most important in your decision? Choose 1 or 2. RANDOMIZE

Whether a candidate cares about people of all races and ethnicities having equal access to resources and opportunities 52

Whether a candidate supports big changes to our systems, like health care, education, banking, criminal justice, and safety net programs 36

A candidate's party (Democrat or Republican) 24

Whether a candidate cares about people getting their basic needs met 23

Whether a candidate believes we should each have power and control over our own bodies and lives 23

A candidate's position on one or two issues I care most about 16

1. How important is it that more Black women are elected and nominated to positions of power in our government?

Extremely important 55

Very important 25

Somewhat important 17

Not too important 2

Not at all important 1

DK / REF 0

1. Here are two approaches to dealing with crime. Which comes closest to your view? ROTATE

We need to increase funding for police and get tougher on crime, like having stricter sentencing laws and not letting people out on cash bail. 19

We need to fully fund things that are proven to create safe communities and improve people’s quality of life, like good schools, living wage jobs, and affordable housing 81

DK / REF 0

1. Here are some values and beliefs that are sometimes motivating to voters. Is there one of these that is most motivating when it comes to wanting to vote in the election this fall? Choose 1 or 2. RANDOMIZE

Everyone should have equal access to the resources and opportunities to make our lives better 46

We can achieve racial justice, where our systems treat people of all races and ethnicities fairly 43

People should have power and freedom to control their own bodies, lives, and decisions 30

We all have a human right to control our bodies, sexuality, gender, work, and raise healthy families 29

We have enough resources to make sure everyone's basic needs are met 25

Here are some other things that can be motivating to vote in elections. For you personally, how motivating is each of these to get out and vote in the fall elections?

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Extre-mely | Very | Smwt | Not too | Not at all | N/A | DK / REF |
| 1. It's a chance to exercise my right to vote | 55 | 22 | 13 | 5 | 3 | 1 | 0 |
| 1. It's a way to show gratitude and respect for our ancestors who fought for the right to vote | 50 | 21 | 18 | 4 | 3 | 3 | 0 |
| 1. It would set an example for my children or others in my family | 43 | 26 | 17 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 0 |
| 1. My family might be affected by the outcome of the elections | 54 | 19 | 14 | 3 | 4 | 6 | 0 |
| 1. If I had unbiased info that makes it easier to decide who to vote for | 35 | 26 | 24 | 4 | 4 | 7 | 0 |
| 1. I feel connected with other people when I vote | 23 | 19 | 26 | 9 | 14 | 9 | 0 |
| 1. If voting was something I did with a family member(s) | 25 | 20 | 26 | 7 | 11 | 11 | 0 |
| 1. It gives me a voice in the future | 48 | 25 | 19 | 4 | 3 | 1 | 0 |
| 1. If my church was involved in getting people to vote | 21 | 15 | 22 | 13 | 10 | 19 | 0 |
| 1. If someone helped me with transportation | 21 | 17 | 18 | 8 | 12 | 23 | 0 |
| 1. If I could vote by mail or absentee | 39 | 22 | 18 | 8 | 6 | 7 | 0 |
| 1. If I heard Michelle Obama talking about why I should vote | 28 | 19 | 23 | 8 | 11 | 11 | 0 |
| 1. Pennsylvania is one of the few states that will decide whether the US Congress becomes Democratic or Republican. That means my vote will matter more than in most other states. | 51 | 22 | 17 | 3 | 4 | 3 | 0 |

1. Of these, which might be most motivating for you personally to vote this fall? Choose 1 or 2.

LIST ALL EXTREMELY OR VERY MOTIVATING ITEMS FROM PREVIOUS SERIES.

Pennsylvania is one of the few states that will decide whether the US Congress becomes Democratic or Republican. That means my vote will matter more than in most other states 28

My family might be affected by the outcome of the elections 19

It's a chance to exercise my right to vote 19

It's a way to show gratitude and respect for our ancestors who fought for the right to vote 18

It gives me a voice in the future 17

If I could vote by mail or absentee 13

It would set an example for my children or others in my family 11

If I had unbiased info that makes it easier to decide who to vote for 10

If I heard Michelle Obama talking about why I should vote 5

I feel connected with other people when I vote 4

If voting was something I did with a family member(s) 4

If my church was involved in getting people to vote 2

If someone helped me with transportation 2

In the past two years, some states have passed new bans and restrictions. In your state, do you support or oppose: RANDOMIZE

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Support | Oppose | DK / REF |
| 1. Banning abortion | 20 | 79 | 1 |
| 1. Making it harder for some citizens to vote | 11 | 89 | 0 |
| 1. Banning schools from teaching about American history, including the impacts of slavery and racism | 14 | 86 | 0 |
| 1. Banning transgender kids from school sports | 25 | 73 | 2 |
| 1. Banning parents from getting gender-affirming health care for a transgender child | 27 | 71 | 2 |

1. As far as you know, have your state lawmakers done any of these things recently? Check any that apply. It's okay if you're not sure - just check not sure.

Banning abortion 10

Banning and restricting transgender people from sports and services 8

Passing voting restrictions 8

Banning schools from teaching about the impacts of slavery and racism 6

My state lawmakers have not done any of these things recently 18

I'm not sure 60

1. Why do you think some state lawmakers are doing these things? Choose 1 or 2.

White people want to hold onto their power 40

Men want to hold onto their power 35

They are guided by their values on these issues 25

To keep people like me down 21

These are things the majority of people want 12

Other (Please specify) 4

None of these 13

Let's say you came across this info on social media site or in public.

Text

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1. For you personally, how motivating is this info to get out and vote in the fall elections?

Extremely motivating 45

Very motivating 20

Somewhat motivating 21

Not too motivating 5

Not at all motivating 6

Doesn't apply 3

DK / REF 0

1. RANDOM SAMPLE OF N = 100 TOTAL: What stands out to you most in this? OPEN END

*Coding open-ended responses*

**Life**

1. In the past year or so, has your cost of living (Cost of living is the amount of money you need to pay for things like housing, food, transportation, health care, and bills):

Gone up 82

Gone down 6

Stayed the same 12

DK / REF 0

1. Do you have enough money right now to pay all of your bills and basic needs, like food and housing?

Yes 53

No 46

DK / REF 1

1. Where have you most noticed the cost of living going up? Choose 1 or 2.

Food 72

Gas 58

Bills like heating and cooling 23

Housing 19

Household supplies 7

Cars 4

Clothes 4

Public transit 3

Childcare 2

1. Which costs have affected your life most? Choose 1 or 2.

Food 57

Gas 46

Bills like heating and cooling 27

Housing 24

Household supplies 7

Cars 3

Childcare 3

Clothes 3

Public transit 3

1. Does your family have generational wealth? This is money or assets that can be passed down by grandparents or parents. Parents might use their wealth to help a child with a down payment on a house or pay for college tuition.

Yes, my family has generational wealth 15

No, my family doesn't have generational wealth 85

DK / REF 0

**Repro Attitudes**

1. Overall, do you think the decision of whether or not a person gets an abortion should be ROTATE: [regulated by law] or should be [left to the individual]?

Should be regulated by law 14

Should be left to the individual 85

DK / REF 1

1. Who should decide how far along in a pregnancy someone can obtain a legal abortion? Select any that apply. RANDOMIZE

The person and their doctor 59

The woman / person involved 45

The medical professional involved 36

The medical profession 26

Supreme Court 9

State lawmakers 7

Congress 6

ROTATE 65/66

1. Some lawmakers have tried to ban abortion at six weeks. Which comes closer to your view: ROTATE

I want my state lawmakers to ban abortion at six weeks 14

I want my state lawmakers to stay out of this issue 84

DK / REF 1

1. Some state lawmakers have tried to ban abortion at 15 weeks. Which comes closer to your view: ROTATE

I want my state lawmakers to ban abortion at 15 weeks 21

I want my state lawmakers to stay out of this issue 78

DK / REF 1

1. Are you more likely to vote for a candidate for state legislature who:

ROTATE FIRST TWO

Supports access to abortion 53

Is against access to abortion 24

Doesn’t make a difference in my vote 23

DK / REF 1

1. If your state lawmakers tried to ban abortion in your state, would that make you feel: ROTATE FIRST TWO

More likely to vote in the elections this fall 49

Less likely to vote in the elections this fall 17

It wouldn't make a difference to me 33

DK / REF 1

1. In 1973, the Supreme Court’s *Roe v. Wade* decision established a woman’s constitutional right to have an abortion. Would you like to see the Supreme Court overturn its *Roe v. Wade* decision, or not?

Yes, overturn *Roe v. Wade* 22

No, do not overturn *Roe v. Wade* 76

DK / REF 2

1. In the past few weeks, how much have you heard about the Supreme Court wanting to overturn its *Roe v. Wade* decision*?*

A lot 42

Some 28

Not much 12

Not at all 17

DK / REF 1

1. IF A LOT OR SOME: Did hearing about this make you feel… Select any that apply. RANDOMIZE UP TO NO FEELINGS *(N = 395)*

Outraged 41

Angry 40

Sad 37

Shocked 32

Unsafe 25

Scared 16

Hopeful 9

Motivated 8

Relieved 6

Happy 3

Listened to 3

None of these 12

1. The Supreme Court is about to overturn *Roe v. Wade*. This ruling will take away people's right to access abortion. It will also allow states to ban abortion. Does this make you feel: ROTATE FIRST TWO

Much more likely to vote in the elections this fall 48

Somewhat more likely to vote in the elections this fall 13

Somewhat less likely to vote in the elections this fall 7

Much less likely to vote in the elections this fall 7

It doesn't make a difference to me 24

DK / REF 1

1. This year, the US Congress tried to pass a law to strengthen voting rights for all American citizens. It didn't pass because every Republican Senator voted against it. If strengthening voter protections were an issue in the 2022 election, would that make you feel: ROTATE FIRST TWO

More likely to vote in the elections this fall 66

Less likely to vote in the elections this fall 10

It wouldn’t make a difference to me 23

DK / REF 1

1. For you personally, how important is voting in this next election? 1 TO 7 SCALE

1 - Not at all important 4

2 0

3 5

4 14

5 11

6 9

7 - Extremely important 56

DK / REF 0

1. How often do you attend religious services?

More than once a week 10

About once a week 23

At least once a month 11

A few times a year 14

Less often than that 16

Never 24

DK / REF 1

**Demographics**

Gender

Woman 100

Man 0

Age

Ages 18 to 29 21

Ages 30 to 44 27

Ages 45 to 59 24

Ages 60+ 28

Please choose one or more race(s) that you consider yourself to be. Your answer will help represent the entire U.S. population and will be kept confidential.

Black 96

Hispanic 7

2+ races, non-Hispanic 5

White 0

Other 0

Education

High school or less 43

Some college 34

Bachelor’s degree or higher 23

Party ID

Democrat 77

Independent 13

Republican 5

Something else 5

Metro status

Metro 98

Non-metro 1